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# PEREGRINATIONS

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## Facing the Music: The Whimsical Cadels in a Late Medieval English Book of Hours

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Although the mention of medieval books of hours tends to conjure up images of richly illuminated manuscripts, in truth these manuscripts range from extremely plain to sumptuously decorated. Even in the former, the medieval scribe used a variety of techniques to differentiate sections of the manuscript and to add visual interest. One such technique is the inclusion of cadels. Following Peter Beal, we can define the cadel as “a decorative flourish on certain lettering in medieval or later manuscripts, characterized by the extension and elaboration of the pen-strokes on letters, usually at the beginning of particular lines. The more convoluted examples include features such as human heads or other figures and designs.”<sup>1</sup> Cadels are present in a wide variety of

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Beal, *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology 1450-2000*, s.v. “cadel” (Oxford: Oxford University Press), accessed July, 22, 2019, <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199576128.001.0001/acref-9780199576128-e-0123?rskey=z5WJox&result=123>. See also Bart Jaski, “Kadellen,” in *Schriftgeheimen: Opstellen over schrift en schriftcultuur*, ed. Marjolein Hogenbirk and Lisa Kuitert (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), 79-93; and *Lexikon zur Buchmalerei*, eds. Helmut Engelhart, s.v. “Cadellen,” by B. Bischoff (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2009), 1:89. Following Gisela Gerritsen-Geywitz, Jaski, “Kadellen,” 81-82, identifies three types of cadels: “marge-kadellen”; “initial-kadellen”; and “vers-kadellen.” Stephen R. Reimer notes that the term cadel derives “from a Dutch or French word (“cadel,” “cadeau”) for a little gift, something ‘extra,’ and is used to refer to ‘extra’ items, such as pen-drawn faces or grotesques, added to an

manuscripts and circumstances, frequently in conjunction with the initial letters of chant texts. In this essay we examine the cadels in several late medieval English manuscripts with a special focus on those found in Winchester College MS 48 (hereafter: WC48), a book of hours that includes exuberant cadels in the Office of the Dead.

WC48 is unusual for a book of hours in having musical notation for the Office of the Dead. Neil R. Ker's description of "elaborate cadellae (bats, etc.)" only hints at the striking array of people and creatures depicted on fols. 68r-95v.<sup>2</sup> The scribe who created these images drew upon a tradition of cadels in the initials of chant texts and transformed it into a sophisticated exegesis of the Psalms and their antiphons. Indeed, these images explode the tradition through exaggerated fantastical creatures that serve as commentary on the text, as memory cues, and even as page markers.<sup>3</sup> These images offer abundant material for a rich devotional reading of this central liturgy of the late Middle Ages.

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initial letter." Stephen R. Reimer, "Manuscript Studies: Medieval and Early Modern," <https://sites.ualberta.ca/~sreimer/ms-course/course/dcrtn-il.htm>, accessed July 30, 2019.

<sup>2</sup> Neil R. Ker, Ian Campbell Cunningham, and Andrew G. Watson, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1969-2002), 4: 634.

<sup>3</sup> On these various functions of images, see Kathryn A. Smith, *Art, Identity, and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England: Three Women and Their Books of Hours*, The British Library Studies in Medieval Culture (London: British Library, 2003), esp. 168-174. See also Laura Kendrick, *Animating the Letter: The Figurative Embodiment of Writing from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1999), 207.

Dating from the early 15<sup>th</sup>-century, WC48 was donated to the Winchester College library by John Lant, physician and organist at Winchester Cathedral, in 1608. There is no indication in the manuscript of its previous provenance. The manuscript includes a calendar, the Hours of the Virgin, the Penitential Psalms, and the Office of the Dead as well as an extensive collection of prayers, hymn/poems, and litanies.<sup>4</sup> Floral borders distinguish large sections and decorated initials further indicate sub-sections. As we have argued elsewhere, this volume was created for a priest, so the presumed original owner would have had the opportunity and knowledge to use the cadels to further his engagement with the text.<sup>5</sup> We have no way to judge either the scribe/artist's intention or the specific reactions of the priest-viewer, yet the possibilities for devotional reading are quite evident.

### **Music in 15<sup>th</sup>-century English books of hours**

Books of hours that include musical notation are a rarity, and when music is included it is almost always for the Office of the Dead. Of the nineteen such volumes known to us, all but three are English and eleven date to the 15<sup>th</sup> century. These eleven manuscripts (all Latin), listed in Table I, form the basis for our study of the use of cadels

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<sup>4</sup> For a fuller description, see Ker, Cunningham, and Watson, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 4:632-34.

<sup>5</sup> Anne Bagnall Yardley and Jesse D. Mann, "The Prayer Life of a Fifteenth Century English Priest: Winchester College MS 48," *Sacri Erudiri* 58 (2019): 221-251. Because WC48 was made for a priest, we will use masculine pronouns when discussing its owner/reader. But it should not therefore be assumed that cadels only appear in manuscripts made for or owned by men.

in the chant initials in the Office of the Dead.<sup>6</sup> In order to situate WC48 within its proper context, we examine the use of cadels in the eleven 15<sup>th</sup>-century English books of hours that include musical notation en route to suggesting that the scribe of WC48 engaged and expanded the cadel tradition both prayerfully and playfully.

### **Music in the Office of the Dead**

The Office of the Dead played a pivotal role in the devotional economy of the later Middle Ages.<sup>7</sup> While there were many possible devotional activities through which one could earn indulgences, the principal means for improving the lot of those who had already died was through the recitation of memorial masses and/or the Office of the Dead. Many of those who left money in their wills for such memorials specified that they were to be sung, clearly believing that, however effective a spoken recitation was, a

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<sup>6</sup> Fuller descriptions of the manuscripts are found in the following sources: Cambridge, St. John's College, G.34 (James 201) (M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St. John's College Cambridge* [Cambridge, 1913], 234); Exeter, Exeter University Library MS 262/4, formerly South Brent, Devon, Syon Abbey, MS 4 (Ker, Cunningham, and Watson, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 4: 343-344); London, British Library, Additional 30514 (*Catalogue of the Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the years MDCCCLXXVI - MDCCCLXXXI*, [London, 1882], 86); London, Lambeth Palace 560 and 561 (M.R. James and Claude Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace* [Cambridge, 1930-32], 768-771); Oxford, New College, 160 (Henricus O. Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum MSS qui in collegiis aulisque oxoniensibus hodie adservantur* [Oxford, 1852], Collegii Novi, 60); Oxford, St. John's College, 94 (Ralph Hanna and Jeremy Griffiths, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval Manuscripts of St. John's College Oxford* [Oxford, 2002], 125-30); Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Ms Codex 1063 ([http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/record.html?id=MEDREN\\_4154279&](http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/record.html?id=MEDREN_4154279&)); Reigate, Cranston Library, 2322 (Ker, Cunningham, and Watson, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 4: 201-203); York Minster, Additional 67 (*ibid.*, 4: 811-813).

<sup>7</sup> For background here, see R. N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe c. 1215- c. 1515*, Cambridge Medieval Textbooks (Cambridge, 1995), 199-234; and *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, s.v., "Mort (liturgie de la)," by Pierre Adnès (vol. 10, cols. 1769-1777).

sung one was even more so.<sup>8</sup> Of the all services contained in the Book of Hours, the Office of the Dead was one of the most familiar as it formed part of the church's formal liturgy and part of every funeral.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, the recitation of the Office of the Dead pervaded 15<sup>th</sup>-century English society both clerical and lay.

The pictorial imagery associated with the Office of the Dead in books of hours includes many fairly standardized images associated with the rituals surrounding death. Several scholars have studied the illuminations and historiated initials that often mark this portion of the book of hours.<sup>10</sup> These illustrations picture late-medieval funeral ceremonies including monastics offering prayers, funeral masses, and biers surrounded by candles. Yet none of the volumes studied here include such images. Instead, they set off the Office of the Dead visually by the use of decorative borders, music notation, and the cadels in the chant initials.

In most of the manuscripts under discussion, there is a clear distinction made between the style of the initial letters of musical chant and that of the initial letters in the

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<sup>8</sup> Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400-c.1580* (New Haven, CT, 1992), 131-54; Sarah Schell, "The Office of the Dead in England: Image and Music in the Book of Hours and Related Texts, c. 1250-1500" (PhD diss., University of St. Andrews, 2011), 172-178, <https://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/bitstream/handle/10023/2107/SarahSchellPhDThesis.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y>.

<sup>9</sup> Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers 1240-1570* (New Haven, CT, 2006), 60.

<sup>10</sup> Schell, "The Office of the Dead in England," chaps. 2-3. A useful shorter discussion is found in Nigel Morgan, "English Books of Hours c. 1240-c. 1480," in *Books of Hours Reconsidered*, eds. Sandra Hindman and James H. Marrow (Turnhout, 2013), 80-81. Roger Wieck has discussed this topic in several of his works. See especially his image-rich "The Death Desired: Books of Hours and the Medieval Funeral," in *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages*, eds. Edelgard E. DuBruck and Barbara I. Gusick (New York, 1999), 431-476.

rest of the text. It is only in the chant initials that we find the presence of cadels, the little “gifts” from the scribes. In several of these manuscripts, the cadels consist primarily of faces drawn inside the initial letters of the chants.<sup>11</sup> These are not historiated initials; they do not tell a specific story.<sup>12</sup> Rather, they appear as isolated and perhaps random inclusions. In several instances these drawings extend into the margin. The particular phenomenon we examine here is associated primarily with liturgical music manuscripts and does not seem to have been studied widely as an aspect of manuscript decoration.<sup>13</sup> By considering these books of hours and the human faces and beasts present in the initials of their liturgical chants, we hope to emphasize the multivalent function and significance of a distinctive subset of such scribal “added-extras.” By focusing on the especially vibrant and exuberant cadels in WC 48, we will provide further evidence for Lucy Freeman Sandler’s contention that “looking at marginal imagery in relation to the words themselves is an approach that can be immensely fruitful.”<sup>14</sup> In so doing, we will suggest that the scribe of WC 48 produced some unusual examples of exegetical whimsy.

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<sup>11</sup> On the depiction of faces and heads in earlier English manuscripts, see Jennifer A. Thompson, “Reading in the Painted Letter: Human Heads in Twelfth-Century English Initials” (PhD diss., University of St. Andrews, 2000), <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/30318939.pdf>.

<sup>12</sup> For a discussion of historiated initials that serves to highlight the difference between such initials and cadels, consult Suzanne Lewis, “Beyond the Frame: Marginal Figures and Historiated Initials in the Getty Apocalypse,” *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 20 (1992): 53-76. On “animated” letters more generally, see Kendrick, *Animating the Letter*.

<sup>13</sup> Gerriten-Geywitz has associated certain cadels (notably the “vers-kadellen”) with such liturgical music manuscripts; see Jaski, “Kadellen,” 82.

<sup>14</sup> Lucy Freeman Sandler, “The Study of Marginal Imagery: Past, Present, and Future,” *Studies in Iconography* 18 (1997): 1-49, at p. 37.

## Chant Initials and Cadels

The hierarchy of initial letters in books of hours is part of the overall plan used in manuscripts to guide the reader through the various sections of the volume. Letters can be distinguished by their size and decorative style, creating a clear visual sign of the importance of the passage to follow and so providing a map to the text.<sup>15</sup> Thus, the letter beginning a new office may be several lines high, while other less important initial letters fit in a single line. A comparison of the initial letters of noted chant texts with other initials in our eleven manuscripts provides the context for the cadels in WC48.

Four of the manuscripts in our group do not include any faces in the initial letters of the noted chants: London, British Library Additional 30514; London, Lambeth Palace MS 560; Oxford, New College 160; and Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Library, MS Codex 1063. BL 30514 uses decorated letters like those in other portions of the manuscript. New College 160, a very simple manuscript, varies in presentation between red initials (used throughout the manuscript), black initials, and red and black initials, occasionally with dots for decoration. Lambeth Palace 560 opens with the Office of the Dead which is followed by the Commendation of the Soul and the Requiem Mass, all of which include musical notation. The initials throughout the Office of the

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<sup>15</sup> These elements of initial letters, and especially those adorned with cadels, are suggestive of the concept of rhetorical and artistic *ductus* as discussed by Mary Carruthers, "The Concept of *Ductus*: Or Journeying through a Work of Art," in Mary J. Carruthers, ed., *Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2010), 190-213.



Dead are one-line high in black with some red highlights. The initials in UPenn 1063 are the same size as the rest of the text and have some gold filling in the black letters.

Cranston Library (Reigate) MS 2322 is the only one of our manuscripts that does not include music for the Office of the Dead, but it does include extensive music for processional chants and the Commendation of the Soul.<sup>16</sup> Many of the chants in this manuscript begin with an initial letter that is three lines high (the height of the music staff plus text) with the letter painted in blue and the surrounding field red, often extending into pen flourishes in the margin. These letters are in the same style as letters throughout the manuscript that begin prayers. There are also initial letters, often for a sub-section of the chant or when the chant begins in the middle of a line, done in black, also measuring three-lines high. Most are undecorated, though some have designs filling the inside and in at least one case a face is attached.<sup>17</sup>

Lambeth Palace 561 combines two different 15<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts: the first a fairly complete book of hours has been damaged; the second, in better condition, lacks the beginning of the manuscript and starts with a chant from compline of the Office of the Virgin.<sup>18</sup> Both portions include the Office of the Dead, though the musical notation is

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<sup>16</sup> For a detailed description and analysis of this manuscript see Anne Bagnall Yardley, "Clares in Procession: The Processional and Hours of the Franciscan Minoresses at Aldgate," *Women and Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 13 (2009): 1-23.

<sup>17</sup> This is the letter I of *Iam corpus*, a verse of the chant *Amo christum* sung at the service for consecrating nuns. For a transcription of the chant, see *ibid.*, 15-17.

<sup>18</sup> The catalogue describes the first as "in a rough hand, soiled and damaged" and the second as "in a pretty, narrow, upright hand." James and Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*, 771.



**Figure 1** London, Lambeth Palace, MS 561, fol. 109r, Horae, 15<sup>th</sup> century, courtesy of Lambeth Palace Library.

found only in the first portion. Despite the rough hand, the cadels in this manuscript are plentiful and imaginative. They show faces, primarily in profile, but with at least one looking straight out at the reader.<sup>19</sup> This frontal depiction occurs in the “S” from the incipit to the antiphon *Sitivit anima mea* (“My soul has thirsted”) (**Fig. 1**). Since this antiphon text derives from Ps. 41:3, which concludes *apparebo ante faciem Dei* (“I will appear before the face of God”), one can easily imagine this as one of the faces in that encounter or as some variation on that theme. The textual connection, too, may help

<sup>19</sup> On the distinction between profile and frontal depictions, see Meyer Schapiro, *Words and Pictures: On the Literal and the Symbolic in the Illustration of a Text* (Paris: Mouton, 1973), 37-49; Ulla Hastrup, “Zannermasken und –figuren im Profil und *en face*: Die Bedeutung der Gesichtsstellung in der mittelalterlichen Symbolsprache,” in *Mein ganzer Körper ist Gesicht: Groteske Darstellungen in der europäischen Kunst und Literatur des Mittelalters*, eds. Katrin Kröll and Hugo Steger, Rombach Wissenschaft. Reihe Litterae 26 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach Verlag, 1994), 313-334.

**Figure 2** London, Lambeth Palace, MS 561, fol. 123v, *Horae*, 15<sup>th</sup> century, courtesy of Lambeth Palace Library.



explain the orientation of this facial image. Throughout, the initials are drawn in black ink occupying the same three-line height as the chant and accompanying text.

The initial “A” of the versicle *A porta inferi* (“From the gate of hell”) shows two faces stacked on top of each other (**Fig. 2**). The illustrator may be trying to make the manuscript more exciting by populating the initials with faces.<sup>20</sup> Of course, it is hard to overlook the paradox of lively and exciting imagery in a text (and rite) devoted to the dead. Yet the presence of these faces suggests the commonly shared medieval view that both realms (living and dead) are richly populated. The upward and seemingly hopeful gaze of these faces is suggestive, especially if the reader is to associate the faces with the

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<sup>20</sup> We are indebted to Amanda Luyster for this suggestion. Here, and in many other examples, the presence of the “face” is clearly central. For some insightful comments on this central image, see Michael Edward Moore, “Meditations on the Face in the Middle Ages (with Levinas and Picard),” *Literature and Theology* 24, no. 1 (2010): 19-37.

gate of hell. Even if depicted in a rough hand in a soiled manuscript, the appeal of these little gifts is apparent.



**Figure 3** York, York Minster Library, Additional 67, fol. 74r.  
Photo: © The Chapter of York:  
Reproduced by kind permission

York Minster Library Additional 67 differs from the other volumes listed here in that the Office of the Dead follows the York rather than Sarum use. In this modestly decorated and well-worn volume, the chant initials are rendered in black ink and occupy the same three-line space as the musical staves. Each initial is set apart by a vertical red line running through the letter, creating a rather elongated effect. There are many cadels throughout the Office of the Dead. **Figure 3** shows the initial Q from the

verse to the eighth responsory of Matins.<sup>21</sup> The face is in profile, as are all of the faces in the manuscript, with its tongue sticking out.

Historically, the gesture of sticking out the tongue conveyed multiple meanings.<sup>22</sup> In her study of late-medieval northern-European art, Ruth Mellinkoff notes that “it has obvious sexual connotations.”<sup>23</sup> This gesture could also have an apotropaic significance or could communicate defiance, disdain, insult, and mockery. In Isaiah 57:4, sticking the tongue out expresses scorn and even contempt for God.<sup>24</sup> By the 15<sup>th</sup> century, sticking out the tongue was a commonplace in medieval art, especially in the faces of Christ’s tormentors in depictions of the passion.<sup>25</sup> In York Add 67, the gesture accompanies a text referring to the “good thief.” Since theologians, such as Hugh of St. Victor [d. 1142], used this biblical example to justify the validity of “death-bed” repentance,<sup>26</sup> one might wonder whether this seemingly irreverent image was intended to mock — if not ward off — sin, death, and even the Devil. If so, it would perhaps show

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<sup>21</sup> fols. 74r-v. The corresponding verse text is *Qui in cruce positus latronem sero penitentem suscepisti eorum precamur pie peccata dilue* (“We beseech you, who while hanging on the cross accepted the penitent thief, to piously wash away their sins”).

<sup>22</sup> Betty J. Bäuml and Frank H. Bäuml, *A Dictionary of Gestures* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1975), 228-229.

<sup>23</sup> Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Berkeley, CA, 1993), 1:198.

<sup>24</sup> Claus Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66: A Commentary*, Old Testament Library (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969), 322; John Goldingay, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 56-66*, International Critical Commentary (London, 2014), 120-121.

<sup>25</sup> Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, 1:199. In such depictions the protruding tongue usually expressed derision.

<sup>26</sup> Hugh of St. Victor, *De sacramentis christianae fidei* 2.14.5 (PL 176:560).

continuity with the desert fathers' practice of hissing or spitting at demons to drive them away.<sup>27</sup>

At the same time, might the reader make a connection between the extended tongue and the preceding text? The Latin word for tongue is *lingua*, and in the previous passage Job (Job 19:23) laments *Quis mihi tribuat ut scribantur sermones mei* ("Who will grant me that my words may be written?"). One might also understand the extended tongue as a reference to Job's words: for here his words are both written and, in the reading, potentially spoken. The other faces in York Add 67 show various profiles -- an integral part of the visual presentation of the chants--, but nothing as striking as the tongue in this one.

Cambridge, St. John's College MS G.34 uses blue and red initials throughout much of the manuscript. In contrast, the chant initials are in black, occupying the three-line space of music staff and text. In some cases, they extend slightly into the margin. **Figure 4**, from fol. 86v, shows a particularly complex cadel with two opposite facing men and a creature (perhaps a dog) in the initial "S" of *Sitivit anima mea ad Deum fontem vivum: quando veniam, et apparebo ante faciem Domini?* ("My soul hath thirsted after God the living fountain; when shall I come, and appear before the face of God?"). This

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<sup>27</sup> Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, 1984), 126. Of course, the Devil could stick out his tongue too as noted in Luther Link, *The Devil: A Mask without a Face*, Picturing History (London, 2004), 64, 128.



**Figure 4** Cambridge, St. John's College, MS G.34 (James 201), fol. 86v. Photo: By permission of the Master and Fellows of St. John's College, Cambridge.



antiphon accompanies the sixth psalm of Matins, Psalm 41 (42), and the text is taken from the third verse of the psalm. Interestingly, the panting (thirsting?) of the non-human creature may refer directly to the text. In this instance, then, the extended tongue would have a different, less subversive, significance than in the York manuscript. The arrow emanating from the brow of the face on the right is curious. It seems to be pointing to the word *salutare* ("salvation" or "eternal beatitude") in the previous line. An earlier cadel (fol. 63v) shows a cross coming out of the nose of the person depicted. Might we read these as visual cues or signs of hope? The scribe of this volume often decorates the initial letters with just a basic design, also in black ink, but in several places includes intriguing drawings like the ones in **Figure 4**.

Exeter University Library now houses manuscripts that were in the possession of Syon Abbey. EUL MS 262/4 (formerly Syon 4) is a book of hours dating from 1424. The



**Figure 5** Exeter, Exeter University Library, MS 262/4, fol. 194r. Photo: Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Exeter

**Figure 6** Exeter, Exeter University Library, MS 262/4, fol. 176r. Photo: Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Exeter

feasts appropriate to Syon Abbey were a later addition to the calendar, so the manuscript was not originally written for the abbey. James Hogg argues that by the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century it was used by a priest associated with Syon.<sup>28</sup> Many of the initials in this manuscript are in gold on a red and blue background with a floral sprays emanating from the letter. The chant initials, in contrast, are again in black ink and three lines high. Many of the more than a dozen cadels are rendered in lighter black ink, although some also use red ink to highlight the cadel. **Figures 5 and 6** show the two most elaborate cadels from this manuscript. The “M” from *Me suscepit dextera tua*

<sup>28</sup> James Hogg, "The Syon MS. 4," in *Elenco dei certosini che in qualsiasi modo hanno ricevuto il titolo di Santo o di Beato*, ed. Benedict Wallis, *Spiritualität heute und gestern: Analecta Cartusiana 12* (Salzburg, Austria, 1991), 49.



*Domine* ("Your right hand upholds me Lord") is the antiphon for Psalm 21 (22), *Deus deus meus* said as the third psalm at Lauds in the Office of the Dead (fig. 5). The floral spray from the psalm initial directly below the antiphon comes up in front of the cadel face. At the end of the floral design is something that looks like a candle

**Figure 6** shows the cadel from the antiphon *Complacet tibi domine ut eruas me: Domine ad adiuvandum me respice* ("Be pleased, O Lord, to deliver me; look down, O Lord, to help me" - Douay-Rheims transl.) which accompanies Psalm 39 (40) at the opening of the third nocturn of Matins. The cadel illustrates one face in profile, adorned with a miter or crown,<sup>29</sup> and a second face within the letter, facing the reader directly (**Fig. 6**). Could the crown be a reference to King David, the author of the Psalms? In any case, it is tempting to see this second face as God looking upon the profile face (as well as upon the orant/reader) just as the antiphon requests.

The Dominican anchorite John Lacy [ fl. 15<sup>th</sup>-century] was not only the owner, but also the scribe and illuminator of Oxford St. John's College 94, a beautifully illuminated manuscript, several parts of which can be dated to 1420. A colophon on fol. 17r reads *lacy scripsit et illuminat*. As an anchorite, Lacy would have recited the hours in his cell as shown in his depiction of himself in a half-page illumination found on fol. 16v. Lacy's devotional life, as seen through this manuscript, was clearly visual, musical,

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<sup>29</sup> On the bishop's miter as headgear for both Christians and Jews in medieval art, see Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, 1:82-89.



**Figure 7** Oxford, St. John's College, MS 94, fol. 88r. Photo: By permission of the President and Fellows of St. John's College Oxford.

and theological. The notated Office of the Dead contains several cadels, many crowded with a host of faces. Most of the chant initials are in black set in a rectangular design, outlined in a light black, then filled with greens and pinks (**Fig. 7**).

Martha Rust interprets these “cartoonishly rendered figures” as readers/viewers inhabiting the book.<sup>30</sup> Lacy also includes some cadels that are distinctly different from the others in the manuscript. One (fol. 73v) depicts an eagle standing on what appears to be a lectern with a monkey sitting on the ground sticking out its tongue.<sup>31</sup> All of this

<sup>30</sup> Martha Rust, "'Lymned to his awne vse': The Illuminated Realm of John Lacy, Book Artisan and Anchorite in MS Oxford, St. John's College Library, 94," in *Scraped, Stoked, and Bound: Materially Engaged Readings of Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. Jonathan Wilcox (Turnhout, 2013), 201-223, esp. 219. This article offers a wealth of information on the materials available to Lacy for the different inks he uses. One caveat on Rust's discussion of the faces in the initials is that there are several faces that look straight out at the viewer, not just the one she comments on.

<sup>31</sup> On monkeys and their frequently subversive roles in the margins of medieval manuscripts, see H. W. Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Studies of the Warburg Institute 20 (London: Warburg Institute, 1952); Martine Clouzot, "La musique des marges: L'iconographie des animaux et des

fills the initial “D” beginning the responsory after the sixth lesson, *Domine secundum actum meum noli me iudicare* (“O Lord do not judge me according to my deed”). Perhaps we should conclude that Lacy himself did not want to be judged for his own “monk-ey” business. While the framing remains similar to the other initials, the interior uses additional colors, notably brown for the monkey, and the portrayals are distinct and bold. In some cases, Lacy created almost three-dimensional initials with the text enclosed. On fol. 59r, the “S” initial encloses the text “ihu help lacy,” a plea for help. As Rust comments:

Considered apart from its ‘literal’ epigraphic placement, the message “*ihu help lacy*” works as a personal response to the antiphon’s plaintive sentiment; it works, in other words as a commentary on the psalm text.<sup>32</sup>

The cadels in MS 94 offer a wonderful field of engagement for the author/illuminator/anchorite for whom the devotional program in the manuscript offers great depth. For our purposes, this manuscript offers a clear example of the tradition of cadels in the Office of the Dead in a book of hours.<sup>33</sup>

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êtres hybrides musiciens dans les manuscrits enluminés du XIIe au XIVe siècle,” *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 42, no. 168 (1999): 323-342, esp. 334-338; Jean Wirth, “Les singes dans les marges à drôleries des manuscrits gothiques,” *Micrologus* 8 (2000): 429-444; and Katherine Clark, “Animals on the Edge: Humans and Hybrids in a late Medieval Pontifical from Avignon (Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève 143),” in *L’Humain et l’Animal dans la France médiévale (XIIe-XVe s.)*, eds. Irène Fabry-Tehranchi and Anna Russakoff, Faux Titre 397 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2014), 99-104.

<sup>32</sup> Rust, “Lymned to his awne vse,” 216.

<sup>33</sup> Books of hours were not the only books to include the Office of the Dead. It also appeared in psalters, priests’ manuals, and in manuscripts where it was the only item. Some of these included music and cadels.

The range of cadels adorning the Office of the Dead in these manuscripts presents us with a clear tradition of populating the chant initials with people and fanciful creatures that serve a multiplicity of functions related to this key ritual of the later Middle Ages. Despite the variety of approaches seen thus far, all have remained more or less within the space allotted to the initial. As we move to examine the cadels in WC48, we find cadels that spill well into the margins of the page, creating a hybrid form between cadel and marginalia.<sup>34</sup>

### Exegetical whimsy

The complex and “brilliantly whimsical”<sup>35</sup> cadels found in WC48 offer a rich opportunity for study and reflection, drawing the reader deeper into the meaning of the text as well as delighting his eyes and his sense of humor. In addition to the functions noted above, in the specific context of the musical notation, these multivalent images

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<sup>34</sup> The “hybrid” nature of cadels that spill out of the text into the margins seems to argue against the rather strict dichotomy between center and margin proposed by Peter K. Klein. Indeed, in various ways, these cadels suggest the very kind of *Schwellenphänomen* Klein rejects. Peter K. Klein, “Rand oder Schwellenphänomen? Zur Deutung der Randbilder in der mittelalterlichen Kunst,” in *Grenze und Grenzüberschreitung im Mittelalter. 11. Symposium des Mediävistenverbandes vom 14. bis 17. März 2005 in Frankfurt an der Oder*, ed. Ulrich Knefelkamp and Kristian Bosselmann-Cyran (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2007), 166-187, esp. 176.

<sup>35</sup> Margot Fassler described these as “brilliant whimsical treasures” in a seminar discussion of this work at the North American Academy of Liturgy in January 2017. Other scholars describe such illustrations as “whimsical,” e.g., Clark, “Animals on the Edge,” 97; and Charles T. Little, and Wendy A. Stein, “The Face in Medieval Sculpture,” in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–, [http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/face/hd\\_face.htm](http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/face/hd_face.htm) (October 2006). The cadels in WC 48 were an integral part of the original writing, being painted before the music staff lines and the rubrics.

also signify the musicality of the office, providing connective tissue between the chants and their associated texts, and serving as intermediaries or access points between center

**Figure 8** Winchester, Winchester College, MS 48, fol. 68r. Photo: By permission of the Warden and Scholars of Winchester College.



and margin of the page. The Office of the Dead, in itself a liturgy replete with life and death, sin and redemption, accompanied by beautiful melodies, springs forth from the page in WC48, enticing the reader/singer to participate in meaning-making.

The illuminated opening page of the Office of the Dead (**Fig. 8**), similar to the ones that open the Hours of the Virgin (fol. 7r) and the Commendatory Psalms (fol. 96r), marks this folio as the beginning of an important new section of the manuscript. In addition to the abstract ornamental interlace and vine border that mark those other sections, this page introduces musical notation for the first time, reflecting the importance of the aural as well as visual properties of the Office of the Dead.

As Laura Kendrick has argued, marginal knot-work and foliage, such as we find here (fol. 68r), can also function as symbols of the complexity of scriptural interpretation.<sup>36</sup> For the medieval reader, a sacred text presented the challenge of deciphering both its literal sense and interpreting its *sensus spiritualis* or spiritual meaning.<sup>37</sup> Most medieval biblical commentaries focused attention on connecting the literal and multiple spiritual meanings of the text. A liturgy, too, such as the Office of the Dead, while enacted in real time as a service, also formed the basis for innumerable hours of meditation that would, in turn, impact the singing of the office. For the reader

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<sup>36</sup> Kendrick, *Animating the Letter*, 87ff.

<sup>37</sup> According to Friedrich Ohly, *Sensus Spiritualis: Studies in Medieval Significs and the Philology of Culture*, trans. Kenneth J. Northcott (Chicago, 2005), 2: "There is, at the beginning of every Bible interpretation, from the time of the church fathers onward, the conviction that Holy Writ is unique, and different from all secular literature – from this point of view, all the literature of classical antiquity. The constantly reiterated principle is that while all profane literature includes only a historical or literal sense, the word of Holy Writ contains, side by side with the historical or literal sense, a spiritual one as well, a *sensus spiritualis*." Ohly identifies three principal types of spiritual meanings: the allegorical, tropological, and anagogical. He comments (p. 17), "An example which is constantly given in the Middle Ages is the word Jerusalem: historically, it is a city on earth; allegorically, it is the church; tropologically, it is the soul of the believer; anagogically, it is God's heavenly city." See also Henri de Lubac's classic, *Exégèse médiévale: le quatre sense de l'écriture*, 4 vols. (Paris: Aubier, 1959-1964).

of WC48 the drawings that fill the margins emanated from the initial letters of chants and offered a lively visual counterpart to the regularity of the words and music on the rest of the page.<sup>38</sup>

Much of the scholarship on marginal imagery in medieval manuscripts contrasts the marginalia with the miniatures in the center of the page, but with WC48 we have only the cadels. Nevertheless, many of the insights that scholars have offered on the role of marginal drawings are germane to our discussion. Michael Camille has argued that "things written or drawn in the margins add an extra dimension, a supplement, that is able to gloss, parody, modernize and problematize the text's authority while never totally undermining it. The centre is ... dependent upon the margins for its continued existence."<sup>39</sup> Within WC48 the cadels perform many of these functions.

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<sup>38</sup> For an illuminating example of the importance of visual exegesis in liturgical manuscripts, see Jeffrey F. Hamburger, Eva Schlotheuber and Susan Marti et al., *Liturgical Life and Latin Learning at Paradies bei Soest, 1300–1425: Inscription and Illumination in the Choir Books of a North German Dominican Convent*, 2 vols. (Münster, 2016) which examines the artistic program of the extant manuscripts from the Soest Dominican house and the theological/liturgical significance of their illuminations, scribal initials (the term the authors prefer to cadels), and the small text banners which enliven the illuminations.

<sup>39</sup> Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, MA, 1992), 10. Heidi Thimann, "Marginal Beings: Hybrids as the Other in Late Medieval Manuscripts," *Hortulus: The Online Graduate Journal of Medieval Studies* 5 (2009). <https://hortulus-journal.com/journal/volume-5-number-1-2009/thimann/>. In drawing on Camille's work here, we are not endorsing all of his claims about the relationship between center and periphery, but we are agreeing that a certain reciprocity governs that relationship and that the whimsical cadels in WC48 can both support and undermine the authority of the texts they embellish. For a powerful critique of Camille's argument, see Jeffrey Hamburger's review in *The Art Bulletin* 75, no. 2 (1993): 319-327.



The first cadell in the manuscript is found in the opening H of the antiphon incipit for the second psalm of Vespers of the Office of the Dead (*Heu me*). It depicts what looks like David's harp<sup>40</sup> with the branches (images of sound) exiting the top of

**Figure 9** Winchester, Winchester College, MS 48, fol. 68v. Photo: By permission of the Warden and Scholars of Winchester College.



<sup>40</sup> Colum Hourihane, ed., *King David in the Index of Christian Art* (Princeton, New Jersey, 2002), xxiii: "David's fame as a musician has logically led to this being one of the most frequently represented subjects from his life's narrative; in this role he is usually shown with either a lyre or a harp." For more on David and his harp, see Hans Joachim Zingel, *König Davids Harfe in der abendländischen Kunst* (Cologne: Hans Gerig, 1968), esp. 16-22; Martin van Schaik, *The Harp in the Middle Ages: The Symbolism of a Musical Instrument* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1992), esp. chap. 2; Rosina Buckland, "Sounds of the Psalter: Orality and Musical Symbolism in the Luttrell Psalter," *Music in Art* 28, no.1-2 (2003): 84-86; and *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception*, s.v. "David" (6:207-12).



**Figure 10**  
Winchester,  
Winchester  
College, MS 48,  
fol. 70r. Photo: By  
permission of the  
Warden and  
Scholars of  
Winchester  
College.



the instrument<sup>41</sup> as well as a figure (David?), complete with beard, cap, and a distinctive nose (**Fig. 9**).<sup>42</sup> The reader would readily make the connection between the psalmist and Christ, a correlation commonly understood in the Middle Ages.<sup>43</sup> In this way the first

<sup>41</sup> Again, we are indebted to Margot Fassler for this interpretation of the branches here and in several other of the cadels. A somewhat analogous interpretation is found in Hamburger *et al.*, *Liturgical Life and Latin Learning*, 237. "The first page containing the sequence 'Omnes gentes plaudite' is alive with sound and motion (p. 550), just as the feast would have been. [Figure 10.1] At the top, the angels of Psalm 46:6 sound their praises (*Ascendit deus in iubilo, et dominus in voce tube*) referencing not only the sequence but several Mass chants as well. The music is represented by the 'air' waves emitting from the bells of their horns."

<sup>42</sup> Although David is not regularly given such a distinctive (Jewish?) nose in medieval Christian art, the beard and headgear are rather standard iconographic features. One does find some decidedly "Jewish" portrayals in Hourihane, *King David*, 203, 286, and 327. We consider this identification more suggestive than conclusive. On the presentation of Jews in the later Middle Ages, see Sara Lipton, *Dark Mirror: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Jewish Iconography* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2014), esp. 16ff. (hat), 48ff. (beard), and 104, 178-180 (nose). See also Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, 1: 127-29 (physical features), 1: 59-94 (headgear); and Elliot Horowitz (transl. Isabelle Rozenbaumas), "Visages du Judaïsme: De la barbe en monde juif et de l'élaboration de ses significations," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 49, no. 5 (1994): 1065-1090, [www.jstor.org/stable/27584782](http://www.jstor.org/stable/27584782).

<sup>43</sup> Of course, Jesus and David were related genealogically (Mt. 1:6; Rom. 1:3). The medieval understanding of the relationship of Christ to the Psalms both as author and as subject is complex. According to Michael P. Kuczynski, *Prophetic Song: The Psalms as Moral Discourse in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia, PA, 1995), 9: "The Psalmist's double persona, as both Christ and *ecclesia*, implies a double role for him as

cadell indicates the integral nature of the cadells to the antiphon and psalm texts with which they are associated.

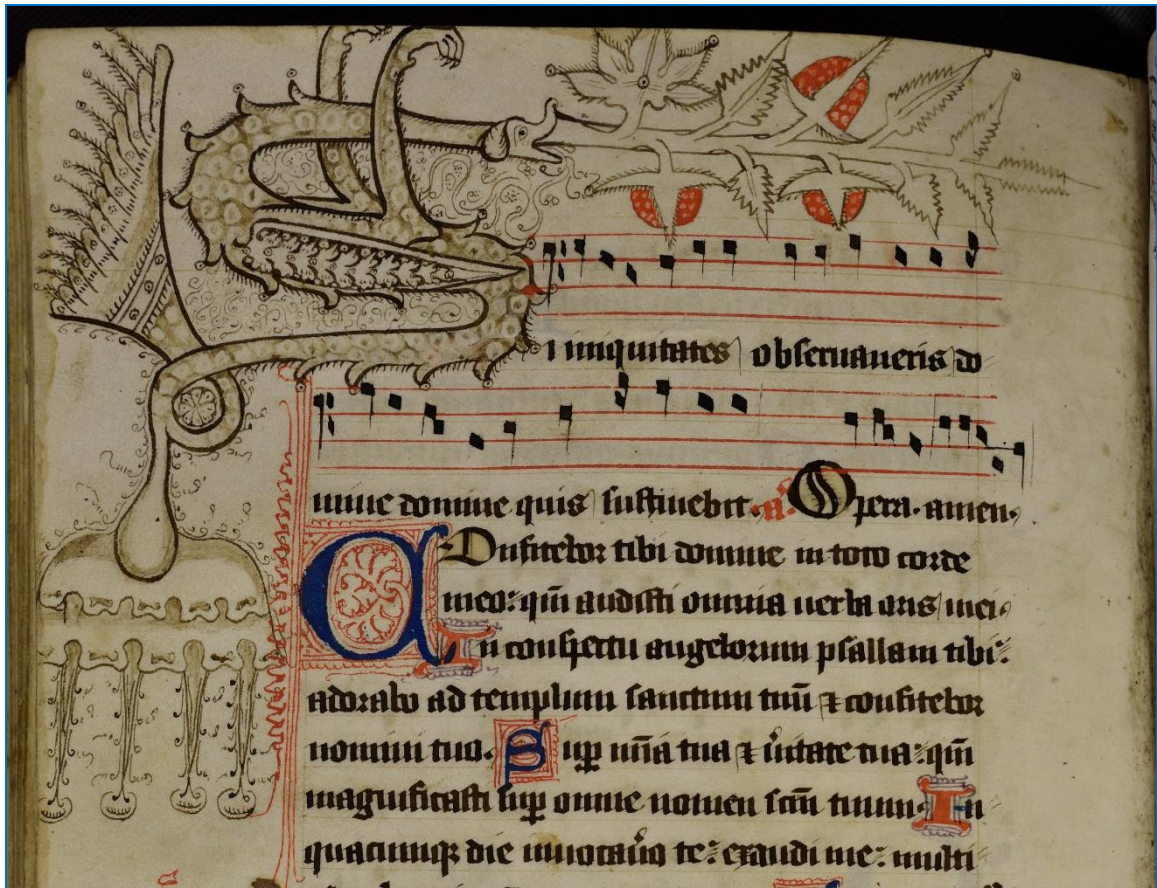
A few folios later, the cadell depicts a two-headed creature with necks intertwined and the four (very hand-like) paws/claws coming out the top of the “O” in *Opera manuum tuarum Domine ne despicias*, (“O God do not despise the works of your hands”). The fanciful creature itself can be understood as part of God’s creation and, at the same time, its paws seen as an ironic allusion to the hands of God (**Fig. 10**). The liveliness and irony of connecting these hands with the hands of God offers definite food for contemplation, and the striking image easily impresses itself on the reader’s memory.

The cadell from the fourth antiphon of vespers fairly explodes off the page and offers the reader an even more complex image to integrate into his meditation (**Fig. 11**). The antiphon, *Si iniquitates observaveris domine, domine quis sustinebit* (“If you Lord should observe iniquities, Lord who will endure it”) is set in the eighth mode.<sup>44</sup> The antiphon is verse 3 of Psalm 129 (130) *De profundis clamavi* (“Out of the depths I cried”) which it accompanies. This psalm is part of both the gradual psalms and the seven Penitential Psalms and would thus often have been recited more than once a day.

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prophet. He is both a visionary poet and a moral reformer or teacher, whose poetry can repair the damage done by original sin, thus making whole again Christ’s corporate self. This second aspect of David’s double role is based in his humanity, his great personal sins, which made him spiritually vulnerable and dependent on divine grace.” See also van Schaik, *The Harp in the Middle Ages*, 43.

<sup>44</sup> The differentia indicates the expected psalm tone except with the f-clef rather than the c-clef. This is presumably a scribal error although interestingly it also appears that way in Oxford, St. John’s College MS94, fol. 58v.



**Figure 11** Winchester, Winchester College, MS 48, fol. 69v. Photo: By permission of the Warden and Scholars of Winchester College.

In the context of this liturgy, the antiphon highlights the sinner's need for God's grace.

The psalm was closely associated in 15<sup>th</sup>-century England with the Office of the Dead and with praying for those who were in purgatory. As evidence, Shannon Gayk points to these lines from John Lydgate:

Another charge was vpon me leyd,  
Among psalmys to fynde a cleer sentence,  
Why De Profundis specyally ys seyde  
For crystyn sowlys, with devout reuerence,  
Of fervent love, and benyvolence,  
Seid as folk passe by ther sepulturys<sup>45</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Shannon Gayk, "'Among psalms to fynde a cleer sentence': John Lydgate, Eleanor Hull, and the Art of Vernacular Exegesis," *New Medieval Literatures* 10 (2008): 175. In modern English: Another task was laid upon me/to find a clear statement among the Psalms/ as to why the De Profundis (Ps. 129/130) especially

As the reader of WC48 turned his attention to the cadel at the top of fol. 69v, he would be confronted with a striking image: the initial “S” of *Si iniquitates* morphing into a fantastical creature/musical instrument breathing out a branch (music) with red fruit. It emerges from the “depths” which are represented by four skull-like spheres attached to a bell-shaped object.<sup>46</sup> From this we see a tuba-like piece attached to the serpentine creature (dragon?). The cadel invites the reader into an imaginative state. Carruthers suggests that grotesques are often an invitation to meditation and that “the outrageous combinations that make up a medieval grotesque can shock (or humor) a reader into remembering that his own task is also actively fictive, and that passive receptivity will lead to mental wandering and getting “off the track.”<sup>47</sup>

The person who meditates on this cadel might see a dragon, often symbolic of the devil in medieval imagery, tempting the reader with red fruit (*malum* – a visual pun)

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is said/ with devout reverence for Christian souls/ And why it is said in fervent love and good-will/ as folks pass by the graves of the dead.

<sup>46</sup> The following discussion of the image was also informed by the conversation in the medieval seminar of the North American Academy of Liturgy in January 2017 with special thanks to Joanne Pierce for her suggestion that the cadel might be related to the “Out of the depths” line of the psalm and that the “faces” at the bottom of the image on fol. 69v are skulls. For a somewhat similar (but much more obvious) image of a skull, see Smith, *Art, Identity, and Devotion*, 154 (fig. 71; far right skull).

<sup>47</sup> Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 164-65. Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1993), 291, also discusses the role of grotesques: “On this interpretation, grotesques are jesters who make a nonsense of the text. They do indeed provide a commentary, as they demonstrate through their antics the difference between the chaos on the edge of the page and the stability at the centre. ... By drawing the eye away from the body of the text to the surrounding pictorial forms of penmanship, the grotesques remind the reader that letters themselves are not the truth.” For further discussion of grotesques and monsters in medieval art, see Thomas E. A. Dale, “The Monstrous,” in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 253-273.

– perhaps a reference to the *iniquitates* mentioned in the psalm and antiphon. He might see the skulls at the lower left as representing the dead for whom he is praying or perhaps as a memento mori. He might hear the sounds of the psalm coming from the dragon’s mouth or the bell of the horn. It might conjure up 1 Cor. 15:52 (“a trumpet will sound and the dead will arise”) or the watchman (*custodia*) in Ps. 129:6 sounding an alarm. Each reader would bring both a conventional and a unique set of experiences with the psalm to the picture.

If one accepts our suggestion that this image includes both a horn or trumpet and a macabre bell with skull-like clappers,<sup>48</sup> then one might be inclined to see these instruments, with Martine Clouzot, as corresponding to two distinct categories of sound: strong vs. soft or high vs. low. As Clouzot puts it, “the musicality of images seems to be a fundamental element in the description of the medieval sonorous palette representative of the ways of understanding and judging the musical volumes and

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<sup>48</sup> Interestingly, the “s-shaped” trumpet dates from the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, and, although here the trumpet itself is not “s-shaped,” it is connected with an “S.” Peter Downey, “The Renaissance Slide Trumpet: Fact or Fiction?” reprinted in Timothy J. McGee, ed., *Instruments and Their Music in the Middle Ages* (New York, 2016), 383. The association of bells with death is well-documented. See, e.g., Schell, “The Office of the Dead in England,” 53, 63, 204; and John H. Arnold and Caroline Goodson, “Resounding Community: The History and Meaning of Medieval Church Bells,” *Viator* 43, no. 1 (2012): 99-130. By combining bells (a notification of death) with the eschatological trumpet of 1 Cor. 15, the artist/scribe of WC 48 may be making a profound theological statement about resurrection. Another very similar illustration of bells occurs at fol. 73v in connection with the antiphon taken from Ps. 6:4-5.



tones.”<sup>49</sup> Thus, in this one image we see a suggestion of the full range of medieval musical sound.

The interplay between the serious nature of the Office of the Dead and the drawings which flamboyantly accompany it certainly offers the reader an opportunity to reflect on the frightening nature of death and on the possibility of salvation and eternal life. Heidi Thimann, in reflecting on the juxtaposition of marginal drawings with miniatures, argues that “the medieval person believed that sin and damnation lurked in the borders, while grace and salvation were found in the miniature.”<sup>50</sup> For the reader of WC48 there is no miniature to serve as a comparison for the cadels; however, the musical notation may be the sacred representation that contrasts with the drawings of grotesque creatures. So, as with *Si iniquitates*, the fantastical creature to the left and above the antiphon contrasts with the clearly sacred nature of the chant itself.

Another fascinating aspect of the cadels in WC48 is the portrayal of the man who appears regularly throughout the Office of the Dead. Here Michael Camille’s description of the ways in which marginal drawings can be self-referential is especially helpful:

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<sup>49</sup> Clouzot, “La musique des marges,” 324. On the distinction between “high” and “low” instruments in medieval music, see Edmund A. Bowles, “Haut and Bas: The Grouping of Musical Instruments in the Middle Ages,” in McGee, ed., *Instruments and Their Music*, 3-28.

<sup>50</sup> Thimann, “Marginal Beings,” 2, and Kendrick, *Animating the Letter*, 144-46. For a useful survey of scholarly interpretations of marginal images, see Klein, “Rand oder Schwellenphänomen,” 167-71. Klein (173-175) is especially critical of Camille’s view and, by implication, of Thimann’s “Camilleian” interpretation.

**Figure 12** Winchester,  
Winchester College, MS 48,  
fol. 92v. Photo: By permission  
of the Warden and Scholars of  
Winchester College.



Another important aspect of the way marginal motifs work is not by reference to the text, but by reference to one another - the reflexivity of imagery not just across single pages but in chains of linked motifs and signs that echo throughout a whole manuscript or book.<sup>51</sup>

The scribe of WC48 delighted in portraying the profile of a man in various guises throughout this section of the manuscript in an almost Seussical manner. We have a

<sup>51</sup> Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 42. Such motifs or signs present another example of Carruther's concept of rhetorical or artistic *ductus* at work in WC48.

sense of the scribe telling a story through the differing presentations of the face, the reflexivity of which Camille spoke. We have suggested that the man in **Figure 9** is David with his harp. The presentation in **Figure 12** is the final presentation of the twelve faces that appear throughout the Office of the Dead. With a red hat adorned on top with plumes, this is one of the most triumphant of the depictions. Of course, the face is again suggestive of King David, author of the Psalms, “presiding” here over “his” text<sup>52</sup> -- a text that once more allies David and Christ.

This portrayal of the man invites comparison with a previous depiction. **Figure 13** is the initial “E” from the first antiphon for Lauds and the text is *Exultabunt Domino ossa humiliata* (“The humbled bones will rejoice in the Lord”). This depiction is very similar to that in **Figure 12** with a few notable exceptions: the scribe has not used red to emphasize the figure; the headgear is more elaborate and more obviously a crown;<sup>53</sup> and there is a large branch coming from the man’s mouth extending into the margin to the left of the subsequent line *Exaudi Domine* (“Harken O Lord”). The branch’s location (between human rejoicing and divine hearing) may be significant since, as argued above, we believe that this branch, which appears in several other depictions of the man (fols. 76v, 81r, 85r, 87r), represents the sounds of the chant coming from the human

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<sup>52</sup> Kendrick, *Animating the Letter*, 197ff. Kendrick (p. 199) notes that “an author ‘portrait’ of some type is the most common pictorial supplement in late medieval writing.”

<sup>53</sup> This crown bears some resemblance to the high priest’s crown described by Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 3.172, trans. H. St. J. Thackeray, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 4: 399: ...which was encircled by a crown of gold wrought in three tiers and sprouting above this was a golden calyx...”



**Figure 13** Winchester, Winchester College, MS 48, fol. 88v. Photo: By permission of the Warden and Scholars of Winchester College.

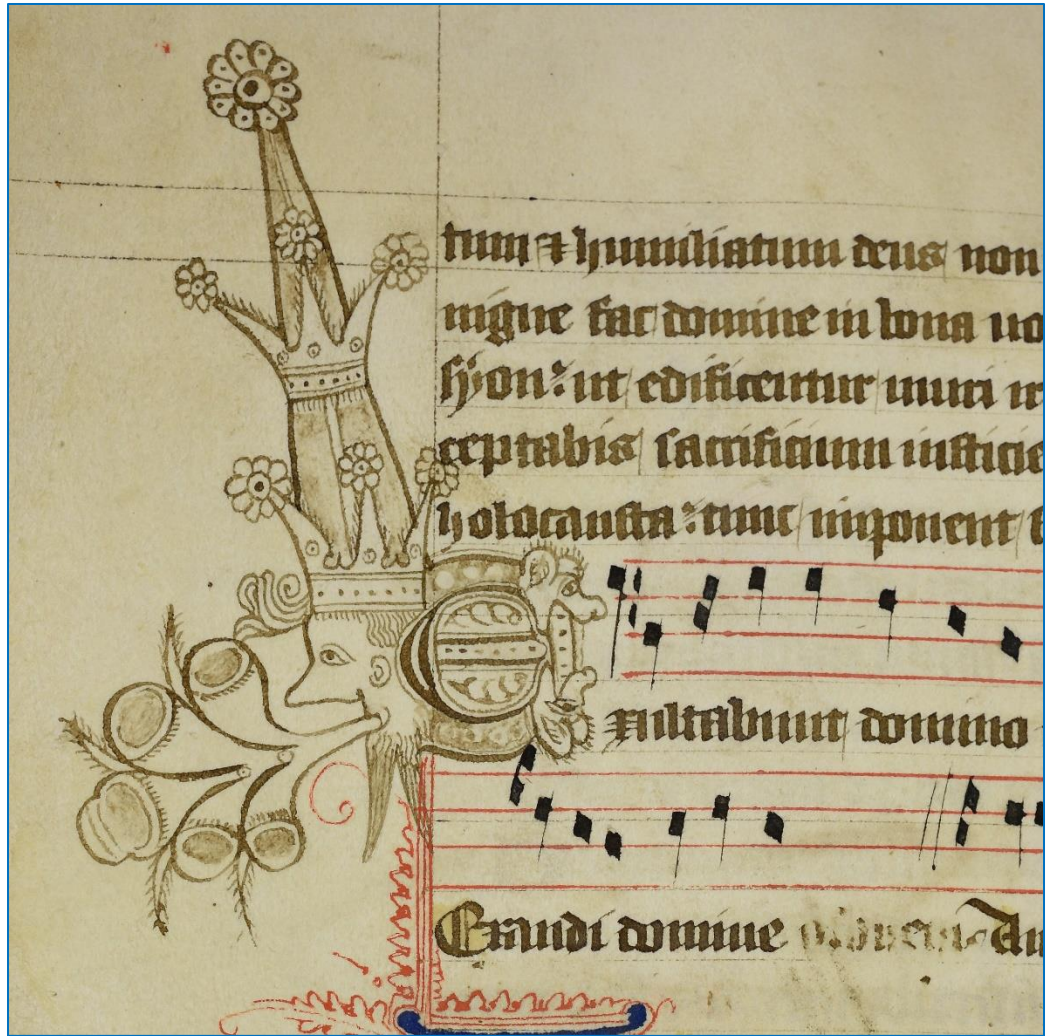


figure. Here as elsewhere we have seen this figure as a representation of David as a cantor/musician, as author and singer of the very Psalms sung by the reader of WC48.

Emma Dillon and Bruce Holsinger have also argued for the depiction of sounds as a form of musicality, one that is clearly shown in these cadels.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Emma Dillon, *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France, 1260-1330* (Oxford, 2012), 192 and Bruce Holsinger, *Music, Body, and Desire in Medieval Culture* (Stanford, 2001), 16 and 199. See further, Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly, eds., *Resounding Images: Medieval Intersections of Art, Music, and Sound*, Studies in the Visual Cultures of the Middle Ages 9 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2015).

Overall, the cadels in the Office of the Dead provide many opportunities for viewers to reflect on the meaning of the text specifically and on the meaning of the ritual in general. Each viewer might respond in his own way, and indeed differently upon different occasions, to each cadel – yet each cadel would function to draw that viewer more deeply and more intimately into contact with the text and its performance.

Additionally, as Jeffrey Hamburger has argued, visual culture in the Middle Ages constructs its own “instruments of visionary experience.”<sup>55</sup> The cadels are visual, but when they appear in the context of musical notation, they thematize a kind of play or interaction between image and sound, between the visual and the aural. Indeed, some of these cadels visualize sound, as we have suggested. This explicitly-represented interplay between the aural and the visual might make us wonder whether the cadels’ presence could have also attuned the listeners and singers to the visionary aspects of the music they produced. For the performers of the rite, the visual depictions of monsters and animals may have reminded them of the dangers of sin and the wiles of the devil. At the same time, these depictions also mock sin and the devil and thus might serve as coping techniques against the fear of death and damnation.

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<sup>55</sup> Jeffrey Hamburger, “The Visual and the Visionary: The Image in Late Medieval Monastic Devotions,” *Viator* 20 (1989): 174; and Richard Leppert, “Seeing Music,” in *The Routledge Companion to Music and Visual Culture*, eds. Tim Shepard and Anne Leonard (Routledge, 2013), 7-12.

The cadels of WC48 push the cadel tradition into new territory. They highlight the many functions of these scribal “added extras,” blurring the lines between text and margin. For the priest-owner of this volume the opportunity to pray through the tensions implicit in the Office of the Dead, and specifically to sing through these cadel-adorned passages, offered a potential resolution, both visual and aural, to his greatest fears. 🐼

**Table 1: 15<sup>th</sup>-Century English *Horae* with Musical Notation**

<b>Library designation</b>	<b>Date of Origin</b>	<b>Dimensions</b>
Cambridge, St. John's College Library, MS. G.34 (James 201)	15 <sup>th</sup> c.	173 x 116mm
Exeter, Exeter University Library, MS 262/4	1424	215 x 142mm
London, British Library, Additional 30514	15 <sup>th</sup> c.	140 x 102mm
London, Lambeth Palace Library, 560	15 <sup>th</sup> c.	114 x 63.5mm
London, Lambeth Palace Library, 561	15 <sup>th</sup> c.	121 x 89mm
Oxford, New College Library, 160	15 <sup>th</sup> c.	130 x 100mm
Oxford, St. John's College Library, 94	1420	265 x 180mm
Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Library, MS. Codex 1063	c. 1450	124 x 82mm
Reigate, Cranston Library, 2322	mid-15 <sup>th</sup> c.	208 x 140mm
Winchester, Winchester College Library, 48	early 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	212 x143mm
York, York Minster Library, Additional 67	after 1405	128 x85mm